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AUTHOR	Beatty, Brenda Ruth
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ABSTRACT

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EMOTIONAL EPISTEMOLOGIES AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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ABSTRACT

This conceptual framework is grounded in the data analysis of transcribed interviews with 50 Ontario teachers and the text of a seven month online discussion group among 25 principals from England, Ireland, Canada, United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. Both methods were employed with the stated purpose of understanding emotional experiences of educational leadership. A normative professional silence about emotion renders inner emotional processes largely unacknowledged in the legitimate discourses of educational leadership research, theory and practice. Like cognitive processes, emotional ways of knowing also affect our experience of self, the ways we engage with others, our public image, our comfort with ambiguity, our level of need for control, the ways we experience leading and teaching, and our sense of moral community. Departing from a dominant objectivist view of knowledge that privileges autonomy, cognitive epistemological frameworks introduced by Perry (1970); Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986); Baxter Magolda (1992) and integrated by Brew (2001), have conceptualized 'connection' as important for developing more complex forms of thinking. When these frameworks are considered together, as noted by Brew (2001), shifts in ways of coming to know (Kitchener, 1983) are associated with the changing role of peers. These cognitive frameworks suggest thinking can be viewed as an epistemological progression characterized as anchored in silence, moving from absolute to relative, through connected, to contextual ways of knowing. This paper proposes that emotional ways of knowing are also epistemological. It argues that emotional epistemologies work in similar ways which can be related to, but are not synonymous with the cognitive processes described by these authors. In this conception of emotional epistemologies, and parallel in some ways to the patterns in the cognitive frameworks, are the themes of silence, authority, connection and context which emerged as central to these teachers' and leaders' emotional meaning making systems. It is apparent that signals from these 'systems' are experienced differently depending on the individual's active engagement with and awareness of them. Conceived of as dynamic interactive processes, rather than developmental stages per se, emotional epistemologies are viewed as interconnected modalities 'within a person's inner and outer streams of experience' (Denzin, 1984: 59). Different emotional ways of knowing and being are conceived of as fluid and spiralling and likely to loop back and forth according to levels and kinds of emotional awareness and interpersonal engagement. The model suggests that emotional epistemologies can function differently in different contexts and become open to transformation and development, deepening through emotionally integrated experience with self and others. Findings from this research suggest that a constructivist recombination of affect with cognition catalyzes collaboratively constructed contextual knowing.

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INTRODUCTION

In the dwelling places of emotion people will be found.
- Norman Denzin, 1984: 279)

> **What is truth? What is authority? To whom do we listen? What counts for me as evidence? How do I know what I know? ... to ask ourselves these questions and to reflect on our answers is more than an intellectual exercise, for our basic assumptions about the nature of truth and reality and the origins of knowledge shape the way we see the world and ourselves as participants in it. They affect our definitions of ourselves, the way we interact with others, our public and private personae, our sense of control over life events, our views of teaching and learning, and our conceptions of morality. (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, Tarule, 1986: 3)**

The way we view knowledge and our access to it, shapes and reflects our sense of reality. Assumptions about all knowledge and our relationships to different knowledges, create operating epistemologies that can shift and change with the situation, shaping and reflecting our view of ourselves and our place in the world. Ever present is a foundational dimension of human mind. We often take for granted, and therefore leave unconsidered, our emotionality or as I call it, our emotional meaning making system. Yet, emotions

> ... reference truths, or feelings that are deeply felt by the person – truths, that is , that touch the heart. In this sense...they lie at the inner core of the moral person. ...their meanings must be revealed to the self so that the self becomes attached to them. In this way the person is connected, ...is established through the interpretations that individuals give to their emotional experiences. Emotionality connects the person to society. (Denzin, 1984: 85)

As Hochschild (1983) has argued however, in work settings, 'feeling rules' of the dominant organizational culture, determine what is and is not acceptable emotionally. The endorsement of a rubric of professionalism that requires one to be and/or seem to be unemotional - as if contrived unemotionality were more rational than integrated emotionality - relegates one of the most powerful meaning making systems of the mind to the role of a pesky interloper (Beatty, 2000). As Boler (1999: 141-142) suggests, "[i]nstitutions are inherently committed to maintaining silences (e.g., about emotion) and /or proliferating discourses that define emotion by negation." She argues that it is "institutionalized power relations" that "thwart attempts to develop emotional epistemologies." Teachers and leaders, who choose to endorse and co-maintain the restrictive feeling rules of the dominant educational culture, are participating in the most powerful self-replicating mechanism in bureaucratic hierarchy. Teachers and leaders experience their working lives from various emotional epistemological perspectives, which thereby inevitably shape and reflect their professional relationships with one another. In the end however,

> The subject's world holds emotion for him [sic]. Emotionality is there to be grasped and engaged, if the subject is so inclined. Emotionality, in all its forms, is a choice he makes. To be or not to be emotional, to lend a bit of self-feeling to one's actions or to withhold feeling, to be overcome by emotion or to hold it in check, these are choices the person has and makes in everyday life. In these

> choices and others like them, individuals shape and determine how they will see themselves and how they will be seen by others. Emotionality transforms them in a way that no other line of action they might take toward themselves or toward others can. (Denzin, 1984:60)

When one becomes actively engaged in one's own and others' emotional meaning making processes, development of self and others can occur. This kind of connectedness creates emotional peers, who can engage in asymmetrical reciprocity (Young, 1997) which can foster the appreciation of multiple perspectives and 'relativist' 'connected', and 'contextual' ways of knowing (Gilligan, 1982; Belenky, 1986/1997; Baxter Magolda, 1992). Not only cognitively, but also emotionally, we make meaning and our emotional meaning making systems create epistemological perspectives from which we experience ourselves and others and co-create reality.

> Emotions are not mere cognitive responses to physiological, cultural, or structural factors. They are interactive processes best studied as social acts involving interactions with self and interactions with others. … Defining emotion as self-feeling returns the sociology of emotion to the world of lived, interactional experience. (61)

When teachers and leaders are

> …engaging themselves and others in and through emotionality, they enter into a social contract with the social order that surrounds them. Through emotionality, sympathy, violence, fellow-feeling, shared emotionality, emotional footings and emotional presentation of self they draw others into their world. The shared world of emotionality is one where understanding, interpretation, and meaning are located…. the tragedy arises when the person fulfills only part of the contract – that is, when he withholds his emotionality from others. … Herein lies the cardinal significance of emotionality and its study. It lifts ordinary people into and out of themselves in ways that they cannot ordinarily achieve. People, then, must engage themselves and their emotionality if they are to more meaningfully enter the affairs of others. They must in a certain sense, work at and take this emotionality seriously. ..emotionality and its investigation must lie at the heart of the human disciplines' for to understand and reflect on *how* this being called human *is*, and how it *becomes what it is,* it is necessary to understand how emotionality as a form of consciousness is lived, experienced, articulated, and felt by persons… .(Denzin, 1984:278)

"People are their emotions (Denzin, 1984:1) … Emotionality lies at the intersection of the person and society, for all persons are joined to their societies through the self-feelings and emotions they feel and experience on a daily basis "(85)

As we look into the "spheres of emotion" we find that they "encircle the core emotional self-feeling" in what Denzin, (1984:60) calls the "horizon. The self takes on different feelings as it passes through the horizons of a core feeling to the feeling itself." Without examining our emotions as valuable sources of knowledge, we neglect to understand and appreciate their epistemological power in our lives. Emotions provide important knowledge about ourselves and our place in the world. As they are accompanied with visceral evidence, we experience them at the time, as absolute reality (Sartre, 1939/1962). Emotion plays a part in everything we do.

Emotions are not optional (Hede, 2000). For all of these reasons, emotion matters in educational leadership.

Until very recently, however, matters of emotion have largely been marginalized in the mainstream discourse of educational leadership research, theory and practice. As a result, emotional ways of knowing remain underexplored and, in effect, silenced for their epistemological power in our lives. This is particularly so in the field of educational leadership, where rationalist, behaviourist and cognitivist conceptions of leadership dominate the literature. These conceptions all position leadership as influence (e.g., Leithwood, Jantzi & Steinbach, 1999) advocating that administrators should lead transformationally, morally, situationally and/or as instructional change agents who create learning organizations. Implicitly, however, all of these leadership models are foundationally emotional.

Leaders affect us emotionally. They move us. Some school leaders inspire and some fail to do so.

> ..leadership seems to imply some bond between leader and followers that does not hinge entirely on either expertise or compliance (Pfeffer, 1978:14). Moreover, humans who compel followership owing to their role or position (dictator, martinet, etc.) are criticized for the absence of regard for individual human rights of choice. Hence leadership seems to involve a kind of interchange or dialectic between leaders and followers that bears deeper scrutiny. (Maxcy, 1991)

The 'deeper scrutiny' of the 'bond between leader and followers', this 'interchange or dialectic' involves an examination of relationship and relationships involve emotions. In an exploration of relationships we discover the necessity to reposition the emotions within the lexicon of leadership and organizational discourse.

Starratt (1991) characterizes the traditional teacher administrator relationship as one of antagonism. He describes a contrastingly constructive teacher administrator relationship as open and trusting. The gap between the normative pattern and that described below, represents a gap in understanding, to which the research that gave rise to the theoretical framework I will present here, was a response.

> The administrator who is concerned with nurturing the growth of teachers will have to ensure that teachers experience the relationship with the administrator as one of regard, mutual respect, and honest contact between two persons. Even though their traditional organizational roles have conditioned administrators and teachers to an antagonistic relationship, in a school intentionally restructuring itself and concerned about issues of empowerment, it is possible to move toward a relationship based on caring. For relationships of caring to develop, administrators will initially explore with their teachers those conditions necessary to initiate and maintain trust, honesty, and open communication. (Starratt, 1991: 196)

On the face of it, Starratt's words ring true. They make common sense. His statements however, are loaded with emotional implications for leaders and for teachers. The emotional implications for teachers and leaders who might accomplish the change from antagonism to mutual collaboration in the united effort to improve their schools together, provided the focus for this inquiry. Endeavouring to understand the status quo was the starting place.

Isolating Starratt's proposed key ingredients we find a number of emotionally demanding efforts that would be required of such a leader for change: *concern* with *nurturing* the growth of teachers; the *ensurance of relationship* with the administrator; *regard*; *mutual respect*; and

honest contact between two persons; in the context of *intentional restructuring* of school; issues of *empowerment*; *caring*; *exploration with* teachers; *initiating and maintaining trust*; *honesty*; *openness of communication*. All of these actions on the part of an educational leader who may be bound by a longstanding and well serving cultural tradition of distant contentious relationship with her/his teachers would involve emotional shifts. There is no room for antagonism in one who would be nurturing and open, respectful and trusting, honest and caring. Such changes from the antagonistic status quo involve a praxis that is fundamentally, *(conceptually and emotionally)* different. In order to explore the emotional bases of the existing patterns in teacher leader relationships, how they work and how they don't it was necessary to go deeper into the emotional inner spaces of teachers and leaders and to learn more about the emotional qualities of the spaces they occupy together, in schools and in each other's minds. This was an essential step to discovering and developing ways that the pattern may ultimately be changed.

Recent educational leadership research and theorizing has advocated for teacher empowerment in shared decision making (e.g., Malen & Ogawa, 1988; Blase & Blase, 1994; Short & Greer, 1997) and the associated necessity of different, more collaborative relationships has been advocated before (e.g., Dunlap & Goldman, 1991). The superior qualities of leaders who exercise 'power with' their teachers have been documented and described as micro-political phenomena by Blase & Anderson (1995), who noted the emotional impact on teachers of different leadership styles. And many, like Glickman (1993) have recommended the merits of instructionally focused leadership, which implicitly involves the emotionally affirming premise that teachers have valuable expert knowledge and are involved in their own developmental processes. The need for building a different conception of professional culture in schools has been well argued by people like Lieberman, (1996) Hargreaves (1998) and Fullan, (2001). However, despite a well established body of work that has advocated for change, in the field, the teacher leader relationship remains problematic. In addition to the cognitive apprehension of each other there are emotional processes of this critical relationship that are worthy of inquiry.

In the past, educational research has considered essentially emotional processes such as teacher satisfaction (e.g., Dinham, 1995), stress of teachers (e.g., Jeffrey & Woods, 1996; Troman, 2000) emotional labour of leaders (Blackmore, 1996) and teacher burnout (Leithwood et al., 1999). More recently as emotions are being explicitly mentioned in educational leadership literature, the notion of emotional intelligence, whereby emotions can be tamed through cognitive apprehension of them holds the promise of more reflective power and influences. Implicitly, however, emotions are still positioned as detractors and obstacles that can block the return to the main road of reason and objectivity (e.g. Southworth, 1998).

An alternative view characterizes emotional experience as inner experience that is valuable and informative, important to share, generative and potent for creating connections and making new meanings together. This is a departure from the image of leaders as merely influential. It is a view to emotionally connected, contextual knowers who support and respect their own emotions as much as everyone else's.

In the opening quotation, Belenky et al (1986) draw attention to the fundamental basis of lived experience as epistemological. While their focus is concerned implicitly with cognitive processes, emotional processes too constitute a system of meaning making that works epistemologically. Our emotional meaning making systems also affect our sense of what is true, what counts for evidence, where authority is located and our experience of self. They impact the ways we engage with others, our public image, our comfort with ambiguity, our level of need for control, the ways we experience leading and teaching, and our sense of moral community. While

we may temporarily suspend our reasoning, emotions, are not optional Hede (2000). They are always there in the background and sometimes right up front. If we are to deepen our understanding of human experience, exploring our emotional ways of knowing will be a critical endeavour.

Finding emotion's place

Recent brain research tells us that reason and emotion, in contrast to their typical characterization as dichotomized and even warring factions, are more aptly described as different yet connected aspects of the "seamless blend of thinking and feeling" that is the human mind (Damasio, 1997: xii). Denzin (1984) notes that:

> Emotional acts have a lived "realness" that is not doubted. The emotional experience, in the form of embodied self-feelings, radiates through the person's inner and outer streams of experience. (Denzin, 1983: 59).

In effect, our emotional meaning making system tells us much about which we are sure. Emotions strongly influence our sense that we know what we know. Emotions, while inseparable from cognition, are themselves important ways of knowing, constantly influencing and participating in the ways we make sense of the world and the things about which we come to believe that we are certain.

It has been encouraging to see recent work by leading researchers contributing to a repositioning of emotion on the agenda for teaching and leading. Hargreaves, (1998a; 1998b; 2000;) has described teaching as emotional practice and argues emotions are political and geographical. He sees emotions in terms of distance and closeness characterized by several frames or 'geographies' (Hargreaves, 2001) including cultural, physical, personal, professional, political and moral. His framework is helpful for seeing different ways that people experience this emotional distance from each other. According to Hargreaves, physical proximity in time and space creates and/or interferes with the possibility of relationship. Personal geographies 'delineate' closeness and distance and professional geographies define norms of professionalism that set people apart or open them up to exploring professional issues together. These frames are conceptually interesting. They suggest that there are paradigms that can create or interfere with predispositions to closeness or distance between people. They are evocative and useful for beginning to map the emotional territory of people in schools. They identify conceptual land masses as it were for further exploration.

While Goleman's notion of the emotionally intelligent leader goes a long way to integrating emotions in a high percentage of what leaders do, still the notion of influence above all else remains: "leadership entails exciting people's imaginations and inspiring them to move in a desired direction" (Goleman, 1998:188). Fullan, who earlier noted the importance of hope in leadership, signalled an important danger to focusing on technique: "Because there is no silver bullet, no shortcut to reform, and because techniques devalue and disrespect emotions" (Fullan, 1997: 222). In his latest book Fullan (2001) acknowledges the emotional dimension of leadership as important to relationship building, and endorses emotional intelligence, (Goleman, 2000), arguing that "Effective leaders work on their own and others' emotional development. There is no greater skill needed for sustainable improvement." These are important contributions to relocating emotion's place in the field.

For all of us, however, like any worthwhile endeavour, putting emotions on the agenda will be easier said and written about, than done. I expect that the emotionally integrated practice

of leadership will require a newfound willingness to entertain alternative understandings of mind, body, and self, to rationalist views which have dominated the Western world. Even the Cartesian 'flight to objectivity' (Boler, 1999) can itself be conceived of as an emotional meaning making endeavour as the search for certainty is employed in the attempt to stave off the anxiety of an indecipherable and ultimately unpredictable existence.

Review of selections from the leadership literature as explicitly and implicitly emotional

Effective 'emotional leadership', as I conceive of it, and as I have known it, is a profoundly and personally demanding endeavour, one that involves separateness, yes, and at the same time connection, so as to be able to achieve a 'non anxious presence' (Friedman, 1985). Overarching ethical and moral implications take root in acknowledged, contextualized emotional connectedness of separate self and embraced other. However, what we find in the literature is that empirically, the inner workings of emotion's fully integrated place in the praxis of educational leadership remains underexplored. This is still true, despite various excellent descriptions of their outward manifestations in teacher empowered and teacher disempowered school governance (e.g. Bredeson, 1989, 1993; Blase & Blase, 1997; Little, 1993).

As Hargreaves argues,

> You can't judge if you can't feel! Consistently dispassionate educators are therefore highly dysfunctional ones. They deny their feelings as teachers and leaders. When educators and those who affect their lives act as if emotions aren't important, the consequences can be disastrous, because they still enter into things anyway - but this time by the back door. (Hargreaves, 1997:3)

This stand is consistent with Belenky et al.'s (1986) more general observations that:

> The continued injunction against articulating needs, feelings and experiences must constrain the development of heart and minds because it is through speaking and listening that we develop our capacities to talk and to think things through (Belenky et al., 1986: 167)

Many different possibilities emerge when we envision a world in which the silence on emotion has been broken (Beatty, 2000). The ethical and moral implications of such a social and emotional connection do not return to a denatured rationalized place. What this paper considers is the emotional processes involved in the internally experienced and socially constructed professional self and some of the ways that practitioners might reconstruct their professional selves together in emotionally integrated ways.

Leadership is an integrative activity, a collection of processes whereby the leader, like each of the followers, is integral to the consciousness of the organization and the individuals who co-inhabit it.

> The heart of leadership has to do with the mindscapes, or theories of practice, that leaders develop over time, and with their ability, in light of these theories, to reflect on the situations they face. Reflection, combined with personal vision and an internal system of values, becomes the basis of leadership strategies and actions. If the heart and the head are separated from the hand, then the leaders' actions, decisions and behaviours cannot be understood. (Sergiovanni, 1992:7)

Yet research into leadership screening and acculturation processes indicate that we teach silence and denial of self as a valid authority (Marshall and Greenfield, 1987). In the main, "organizations have done far more to stifle leadership than to encourage it" (Bennis, 1989:181). Herein lies the dichotomy of leadership theory and practice. If emotion and cognition are conceived of as separate from each other and their combined influence is thereby detached from leaders' considerations about their actions and decisions, leadership cannot be integrated or integrative for the leader her/himself or for those they seek to lead.

Little attention has been paid to what leaders would need in order to support such a vision of leadership. Searching for the common ground among successful leaders in a variety of fields, Bennis (1989: 2) noted that what they had in common was "a passion for the promises of life and the ability to express themselves fully and freely". However, leaders, especially school leaders who are hobbled by the pressures for performativity (Ball, 2000) from all sides, are not often given the freedom they need to lead.

> Without discretion, school administrators are not free to decide but only to follow the script that someone else provides. Without discretion, in other words, there can be no leadership. (Sergiovanni, 1992:14)

The passion of self-expression is an emotionally charged endeavour. The leader who is free to lead from an empowered, emotionally integrated self awareness, is in a position to empower others, seeing power not as a limited commodity, but rather, as something that is augmented in the sharing. Marshall (1992: 104), in exploring the potential of the assistant principal role, sees the need for retraining leaders as critical humanists, who know how to engage the voice of critique.

Outside of the mainstream educational leadership literature, some depictions of leadership acknowledge the value of emotion. Indeed, they offer an explicitly or implicitly defining role, assisting in interweaving a connectedness with self and other in a transcendent celebration of possibility. In this view, the emotions are welcomed:

> The point is not to be victims of our feelings, jerked this way and that by unresolved emotions, not to be used by our experiences, but to use them and to use them creatively. ... we can each transform our experiences into grist for our mill. ... Your accumulated experience is the basis for the rest of your life, and that base is solid and sound to the degree that you have reflected on it, understood it, and arrived at a workable resolution. (Bennis, 1989: 118)

According to Schein (1985), good leaders manage cultures. In practice, leaders often fail to recognize the foundational significance of emotion in school culture and the influence of emotion on the quality of what goes on there. "The dominant management metaphors are managing as machine, an organism [hierarchical images], a marketplace [the presently dominant image], and a conversation" [which] "originates from an affective bond between organizational participant and is based on their shared meanings embodied in a common language" (Marshall, 1992: 57). Cultural meaning making is a shared and emotional endeavour whether we acknowledge this consciously or not. As Hargreaves, (1997) argues, astute leadership involves reculturing.

Darling Hammond (1997) has suggested that reorganization at a structural level may provide the impetus necessary for new collaborations that would improve the learning environment for students. However, Hannay and Ross (1997) found that the will among the rank and file to collaborate along new lines was insufficient. Active principal and curriculum leader

support was essential for success (Siskin, 1997). How does this inform us about the emotions of leadership? Resistance to change, in leaders particularly, is now a recognized stumbling block to educational reform (Hannay and Ross, 1997), one which may be fundamentally emotional. If emotions are part of the problem perhaps an understanding of leadership emotionality may provide some insight into a possible solution.

Recalling that among the leadership categories or models considered by Leithwood, et al. (1999) was the common denominator of "influence," this offers direct support for Greenfield's (1999) observations about a kind of bifurcation point in leadership theory development. He takes us back to a large-scale study of leadership in public schools by Gross and Herriott (1965). The purpose of their study was to understand the efficacy of the idea of *staff leadership*. Their finding:

> ... that the Executive Professional leadership of school principals was positively related to "staff morale, the professional performance of teachers, and the pupils' learning" (150), marked the beginning of the field's long-term fascination with understanding school leadership. This early study was rooted in a controversy regarding the proper role of the school administrator: to provide routine administrative support versus to try to influence teachers' performance. The latter orientation, referred to by the researchers as *staff leadership,* provides the conceptual foundation for most of the studies of school leadership since that time. Indeed, it is doubtful that there is any prescriptive, empirical, or theoretical writing since their 1965 study was published that is not grounded, explicitly or implicitly, in a *staff leadership* conception of the school administrator's role! (Greenfield, 1999:1)

While acknowledging that each of the variants on this theme may be well intended - such as " *constructivist, critical, ethical, educative, environmental, facilitative, institutional, instructional, mora,l political, principle-centered, professional, servant, ... leadership"* - Greenfield (1999: 3-4) draws our attention to Burns' (1978:4) later distinction of *moral leadership which* "emerges from, and always returns to, the fundamental wants and needs, aspirations, and values of the followers. I mean the kind of leadership that will produce social change that will satisfy followers' authentic needs." Whereas "traits, skills, styles, the two-factor theory ... and ... situational... and contingency theory [were] ideas rooted in functionalism, and concerned with ideas like efficiency and effectiveness," they positioned leadership as social power. Greenfield (1999: 4) reminds us that in the '70's, contributors like Thom Greenfield introduced the idea that "there are alternative ways to view and think about school organizations, and the idea that *soft* data of the sort generated by qualitative approaches may bring us closer to understanding the more important realities of school organizations and the meaning of those experiences for participants". Bottery's (1992: 5-6) view of schooling that embraces the development of children and adults as a primary purpose emerges in Greenfield's argument as the essence of *moral leadership.*

> If schools are to teach the larger connection – connections to our ancestors, to the biosphere, to the cultural heroes of the past, to the agenda of the future –they must begin with the connections of everyday experience, the connections to our peers, to our extended families, to the cultural dynamic or our neighbourhoods. (Starratt, 1996:77)

This notion of connection or connectedness, has been explored by various authors, (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984; Belenky et al., 1986; Baxter Magolda, 1992) and is given

meaningful explication by Greenfield (1999): "The [socially] constructed reality is not only a product of the immediate social interaction of the participants, but includes as well the lived experiences of the participants." He offers six specific suggestions for "extending our understanding of the moral leadership concept." Among them is the following:

> Study the *emotional* dimensions of *being a school leader*, including the high's [sic] and the low's [sic] of leadership, and feelings of anxiety, frustration, anger, as well as the feelings of happiness, satisfaction, and pride, among other *passions* of leadership. (25)

James, (2001:11) has discussed anxiety as a critical feature of educational leadership, arguing that "The containment of anxiety can occur by setting boundaries and structures within and around phenomena and events, especially those that involve significant change." The need for boundaries may indeed be a response to anxiety. However, the boundaries between people can both retain and block relationship. Deeply concerning are the boundaries within the self, which can divide it.

Emotional dissonance of a divided inauthentic self compromises the ability to decipher the various inner voices that wrest emotional authority from the self and locate it in effect, outside of the self. Maslow has suggested,

> There is a self, and what I have sometimes referred to as "listening to the impulse voices" means letting the self emerge. Most of us, most of the time (and especially does this apply to children, young people), listen not to ourselves but to Mommy's introjected voice or Daddy's voice or to the voice of the Establishment, of the Elders, of authority, or of tradition (cited in Bennis, 1989: 113).

"Letting the 'self emerge' is the essential task for leaders. It is how one takes the step from being to doing in the spirit of expressing, rather than proving" (Bennis, 1989: 113). Leadership that is conceived as emergent and connected within individuals through emotional responsiveness and understanding, differs paradigmatically from the McDonaldization of the emotions considered as emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) in an educational context by Hartley (2001). It involves the leader's own and others' authentic emotionality as known through active collaborative reflection. It is grounded in and it returns to the notion of connected individuality that we idealize in democracy.

To begin with, it seems only sensible that in order to extend trust and openness in communication, the security of the leader is essential.

> Becoming a leader of that sort – one who opens, rather than occupies, space- requires the same inner journey . . . beyond fear and into authentic selfhood, . . . toward respecting otherness and understanding how connected and resourceful we all are. As those inner qualities deepen, the leader becomes better able to open spaces in which people feel invited to create communities of mutual support, . . . of collegial discourse . . . more than support. . . – they could offer healing for the pain of disconnection from which many faculty suffer these days. (Palmer, 1998: 160-61)

A deeper more comprehensive scrutiny of leadership demands a closer look at the leader's relationship with her/himself as well as the nature of the relationships he or she may experience with others. Relationships of all kinds necessarily involve the notion of emotion. The notions of care (Noddings, 1984), connection (Gilligan, 1982) community (Sergiovanni, 1992) and

relational leadership (Regan & Brooks, 1995) are interrelated in important, and fundamentally emotional ways.

Understanding emotions

Emotions are not things but rather, as Denzin (1984) says, they are processes. Lupton concurs with Denzin's location of the emotional self as the interpreter of understanding and experiences, including and especially emotional experiences. Furthermore, she depicts this continuous process as a hermeneutic circle.

> Emotions …are not the outcome of a linear sequence of events and responses, but rather emerge in a hermeneutic circle, in which emotional thoughts merge and run together and are responses to previous interpretations, understanding and experiences. (Lupton, 1998:22)

Lupton's positioning of "emotions , moods and fantasies" as "central to the construction and maintenance of individual and cultural identifications with specific social relationships, institutions and values" (Lupton, 1998: 29) supports the argument for considering the psychodynamic bases of such emotionally loaded identifications. I would argue that the powers of acknowledged emotion to alter in transformational ways, the relationships of self to self and self to other, do not lie in wresting rational control of them in ever more efficient ways in order to subsume them again in the usual rationalist straightjacket. Qualitatively different from emotional intelligence then, I am exploring the integrated affirmation of shared emotional meaning making as a valuable dimension of leadership in connection with others.

Embedded in the powerfully adaptive system that is the emotions of the self, is the process whereby one becomes known in association with others. Emotions form the core catalyst of personal development and maintain our valued ethics and morals (Margolis, 1998). Denying emotion denies our access to our ethical moral self-regulatory systems and in de-emotionalizing ourselves we invite the tendency to objectify others, which is dangerous and dehumanizing. In this view, profound knowledge of self in deep connection with, not in reasoned or relegated isolation from others, is a continuously emotional accomplishment.

To reposition emotion as reason's complement, within the mainstream of such a traditionally 'masculinist' and strictly 'hierarchical' enterprise as educational leadership (Blackmore and Kenway, 1993), is to invite Boler's (1999) transcendence of the corruption of femininity and (emotional) subjectivity. As well it challenges us to begin to develop a legitimate place for the language of emotion in the educational leadership discourse both in and out of the academy, as we reckon with emerging understandings of the whole of human mind.

Emotions are self-referential (Lupton, 1998) and socially situated (Denzin, 1984). They are complex and powerful. Emotional meaning making systems create views of truth and knowledge whether or not they are consciously examined. When emotional meaning making is undertaken with others, the others become our peers, emotional peers, human peers, and changes in the way we experience ourselves and our world can result. Our emotionality is one of our ways of knowing that changes upon examination yet can be seen to develop with the shifting role of peers. I therefore am arguing that emotions are in effect, epistemological.

Epistemological Frameworks

An integration of developmental frameworks originated by Perry, (1970), Belenky, et al., (1986;1997), Baxter-Magolda (1992) was accomplished by Brew, (2001) in the context of mathematical learning. Perry (1970) proposed a hierarchical intellectual epistemological scheme that includes *dualism, multiplicity, relativism and commitment. Dualism* is an absolutist perspective on knowledge and truth; *multiplicity* leads to acceptance of multiple perspectives and knowledge become uncertain; *relativism* rejects absolute truth and invites a consideration of context; and *commitment* positions meaning making as emanating from within. Belenky et al., (1986;1997) propose five perspectives about truth, knowledge and authority: *silence* (no voice); *received* knowledge (listening to the voice of others); *subjective* knowing (listening to the inner voice); *procedural* knowing (connected and separate knowing); and *constructed* knowledge (integration of separate and connected knowing. Brew (2001) uses Baxter Magolda's (1992) framework as a schema for integrating the earlier perspectives of Perry (1970) and Belenky et al. (1986;1997). She takes Baxter Magolda's *absolute* knowing' *transitional* knowing; *independent* knowing' and *contextual* knowing, and integrates with these, Belenky et al.'s notion of *silence.* In all of the abovementioned frameworks, each position is considered as developmentally more advanced than the one before it. Baxter Magolda's five "learning domains" characterized different epistemological outlooks: perception of knowledge; role of the learner; role of peers; role of the teacher; and evaluation.

For the purposes of the framework I am proposing, I am indebted to Brew's (2001) work to integrate key elements of these frameworks. I have adapted some of these concepts in various ways to reflect the findings from the data on emotional experiences of teachers and leaders. The framework is equally applicable for emotional experiences of members of both groups and has implications for the examination of the teacher leader relationship. The transposition from Brew's integrated framework, which she used to examine the interviews with women returning to study mathematics through an epistemological lens, is shown in comparison to my own emotional epistemological perspectives in tables 1 through 4.

From the grounded theoretical analysis of my own data, I found silence an important and defining position with respect to emotion. The tendency for absolute emotional knowing was clear. And there were signs of transitional, independent and contextual knowing that made Brew's integrated epistemological composite framework useful for considering emotional ways of knowing. Four of the domains chosen by Baxter Magolda and applied by Brew in the context of women returning to mathematics were also adaptable for understanding emotional epistemologies. Baxter Magolda's domains are Perception of knowledge; Role of the learner, Role of the Teacher, Role of Peers. I have adapted these domains in an emotional epistemological framework as *Perception of emotional knowledge; Inner emotional knowing; Emotional role of the 'other'*, which for teachers would be leaders and for leaders would be teachers in this context; and *Experiencing emotional meaning with peers.*

The studies

The study of the 50 teachers and 25 leaders was a research project designed to explore the emotions of leadership from the perspectives of leaders and teachers. The intra and intersubjective emotional experiences of teachers and leaders, especially in relationship to each other, provided the research focus, with a view to achieving a deeper understanding of the processes that enhance and obstruct collaboration between leaders and teachers. As emotions are

largely subtextual in the legitimate professional discourse between leaders and teachers, it was necessary to create safe spaces for teachers and leaders to reflect upon and describe their emotional experience of leadership.

So as to gain a broad view of the emotionally significant issues for teachers, a fairly large purposively stratified sample of teachers, ranging in age, experience, ethnicity, school level and experience as well as gender balance was used to cast a wide net, to discover some of the overall patterns in teachers' perceptions of their emotional experiences with leaders[1].

The leaders' study, which followed that of the teachers could then integrate some of the perspectives of the teachers in its discussion phase, so that leaders could respond to teachers' concerns and offer their own emotional experiences of teachers and others in their working lives. To create the opportunity for self discovery and shared emotional understanding, I used an online setting over a seven month time period. This allowed the leader group to develop trust and relationship, and provided the opportunity to observe shifts in their emotional understandings and meaning making systems.

Findings

When I began the study I had hypothesized that patterns of inner emotional processes among members of both groups could be operating in meaningful ways that might affect their professional relationships with each other, and that evidence of such patterns might contribute to a theoretical understanding of the role of emotions in educational leadership. While I did not at first anticipate the idea of developing an emotional epistemological framework, these epistemological perspectives evolved out of the final analysis phase and grew out of the integration and reconsideration of all of the key findings from the analysis of both data sets together. Looking back, however, the idea was certainly quiescent, as different kinds of emotional understandings (Denzin, 1984) seemed to be operating in both teachers' and leaders' stories.

Various earlier frameworks that had emerged from analyses of these data, had served the purpose of categorizing kinds of convergence for both groups (i.e., Career, Students, Climate, Organizational procedures, Colleagues and Parents (Beatty, 2001)) provocations, emotional impacts, patterns of communication and kinds of connectedness (Beatty, 2002 pending). Comprehensive details of these various analyses appear in other papers. What I present here is the way the themes of silent, absolute, transitional and connected contextual emotional knowing emerged from these data. Each of the components of the earlier frameworks is distributed within this overarching theoretical framework which considers emotional epistemologies as underlying operative forces in emotional meaning making patterns that affect and even define relationship with self and others.

From the data in my own study, Hargreaves' political, professional and moral frames were evident, especially in the phenomenon of negative emotion, which was associated most often with increased distance and disconnection. However, in addition to differences in positional power, it was also emotional power each had over the other, and emotional meaning making in various contexts that kept teachers and leaders apart and wary of each other. And

[1] The data on which this part of the research is based are drawn from a wider research project called 'The Emotions of Teaching and Educational Change', funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada as Grant No. 418699 and directed by Dr. Andy Hargreaves.

importantly, shared emotional meaning making had brought them together. Beneath professional distance, I have found that professional silence about emotion and breaking of such silence are dynamic processes that are associated with connection and disconnection between teachers and leaders and within themselves. Regardless of the context, in the conscious examination of the self's emotional experience and in the changing role of peers who become collaborators in reflection and shared emotional meaning making, barriers and distances can be overcome. Conversely, in the absence of emotional understanding that is characterized by a lack of shared emotional meaning making, these barriers and distances are maintained and can even increase. This connectedness can occur or not, and often does, or does not, irrespective of factors such as physical proximity or personal delineations, moral purpose, political power, professional separateness or collegiality. As Cole (1991) and Hargreaves (1991) have noted, relationships among educators are often contrived even if they are superficially friendly (Hargreaves, 2001). In part, this conceptual framework assists in the examination of the underlying emotional phenomena associated with the apparent contrivedness of interactions between leaders and teachers.

Development of emotional epistemology concept

In the course of this research I began to think about the process of emotional meaning making as related to but potentially distinct from the usual cognitive psychological constructs. This has ultimately begged the question of how conceptions of emotional knowledge and emotional knowledge making could be considered as epistemological. I have discerned a definite progression, albeit not necessarily developmental in the Piagetian sense in terms of 'no-return' stages, but as a progression of modalities, evolving one into another, and sometimes reverting back into the root or anchoring point of silence. I decided to review some earlier research into epistemological developmental frameworks, which brought me to Perry, (1970), Belenky et al. (1986/1997), Baxter Magolda (1992), and Brew, (2001).

The integrated framework that I propose is then, a transposition of cognitive developmental stages with respect to the nature of knowledge and truth into the context of inner processes of emotional meaning making or emotional epistemologies. As emotions are so powerful, and seem to have completely different effects, depending on whether one engages in examining, considering, reflecting and sharing one's emotional understandings with others or not, I am arguing that habitual patterns in emotional meaning making create emotional epistemologies which are likely to be operating in the background all of the time. I am theorizing that this is so, as outlined in the following discussion and compiled in the following Tables. What I also found was the power of professional silence to interfere with and even to stifle emotional understanding. The 'silence' of emotional meaning making, shapes and reflects relationships both with self and other. This is the extreme, and a place from which to begin to document the progression I have found. I also had the sense that the core self might be more or less or in various ways, connected with one's professional self. Furthermore, on the strength of Denzin's (1984) argument that emotions are essentially self-feelings that occur in a dynamic process or stream of experience of the socially situated self, the context of teaching and leading in schools was a fascinating place to observe some of the intricacies of these interconnected phenomena.

Applying the emotional epistemological framework

I will begin and end my presentation of findings in the context of the epistemological framework, by telling you the good news. From my research it is apparent that what makes the difference in the level of connectedness in professional relationship lies in the person's experience of emotional meaning making and this endeavour's transformational power to alter relationships. In shared emotional meaning making the self discovers the importance of relativist meaning making in a de facto fashion, through reflection upon multiple interpretations of the person's own emotional experiences. When an individual moves from unexamined to examined emotional self, in the process of examining emotional self, of and with others, emotional ways of knowing become open to change. The emotional self begins forming and reforming in a more fluid, open, enlivened, engaged storying and restorying of self. This process is depicted at figure 1.

Findings from these data show that there is a progression, envisioned theoretically as moving from one emotional epistemological modality to another. This progression moves from silence to absolute emotional knowing to transitional relativism, which can revert to absolutism, or, with deepened experience, can evolve into resilient relativist emotionally connected and contextualized knowing of self and other. I do not position each stage as developmentally distinct from the others, and Belenky et al. were reticent to do this either. Teachers and leaders showed signs of experiencing emotions from the various positions represented in the framework. At the end of this section I provide composite tables, which depict my theoretical adaptation of Brew's integrated framework (derived from Perry, (1970) Belenky et al.'s (1986/1997) notion of silence and Baxter Magolda's domains of learning). These tables include descriptions of the emotional epistemological perspectives in brief and verbatim exemplars from the teacher and leader data sets. Before presenting each table, I briefly describe some of the characteristics of each modality.

Silence:

Like Belenky et al. (1997: 24) I view *silence* as an important anchoring point for the epistemological model because it represents "an extreme denial of self and dependence on external authority for direction". Silencing of *emotional* self is a reference point from which to view the other emotional ways of knowing. Unrecognized emotional self-feelings, and formal, detached and impersonal relations with others characterize this first modality. Even if one is somewhat aware of inner feelings, the appropriateness of feelings is determined by external authority of the culture and the expectations for feeling rules within one's role. In effect, emotional authority remains outside the self, and emotional meaning making is not easily accessible since layers within the horizon of emotional experience (Denzin, 1984) remain partitioned off from one another. The habit of emotional silencing is self-perpetuating. It is a habit of the emotional mind.

One of the critical distinguishing features among the stages in Belenky et al.'s view was the notion of authority of knowledge. Silenced selves saw authority for knowledge outside themselves in her research. Silence emerged as a theme in both the teacher interviews and online leaders' discussion of emotions. Evidence of an emotional authority external to the self that determined what they should and should not feel and show, was strongly represented in the teacher stories. Their awareness of and emotional response to the dominant 'feeling rules' that defined professional as unemotional was clear as they spoke of feelings they did not express, and conversations they did not have, in deference to the ethic of professionalism.

Table 1. Silence

Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives[2]	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum with the epistemological perspectives
Perception of knowledge • *Understanding knowledge is not possible nor important (28)* • *Undeveloped capacity for representational thought (25)*	Perception of emotional knowledge • Emotion and self-feelings (Denzin, 1984) remain largely unexamined. • Experiencing emotion is not considered/understood/valued/ • shared. • Meta-emotional chain reactions such as shame, anger and blame (Scheff Retzinger, 2001) remain powerful • Representation of emotion as meaningful remains unused as a way of knowing	• Dependence on 'blind' feeling rule following, and imperative to project self-image as 'rational' 'objective' certain and impersonal • Discomfort with emotional meaning making even though emotions remain powerful and influential to experience of self worth and belonging.	[I] felt they used that comment as a justification. ... I don't think that was the issue at all. ... My feeling is that you want to have administrative people who are strong student oriented people. ... I didn't say anything. ... I said "that's fine". I will never apply for a leadership role again.	I know the value of not saying all that could be said. Any emotion or side-taking, or emotional support can be misconstrued. A cold, logical legalistic line is the safest. It is not natural for me. The fear of loss of control is an emotional deterrent to me. Being personally involved and showing emotions is counter-productive in my experience, focussing on the relationship with me rather than the professional issues
Role of the learner • *Feel deaf and dumb.* • *Trouble talking due to fear of being punished or ridiculed (23, 24)* • *Harsh school experiences (23)* • *Lack of dialogue with the self (24, 31)* • "Trying to know why is not thought to be ...possible or important" (28) • "Feeling cut off from all internal and external sources of intelligence ... see self as remarkably powerless and dependent on others for survival."(28) • "Unable to bring the whole self into view" (32)	Inner emotional knowing • Unable or unwilling to read emotions, unable to speak about emotions or numb to emotion • Reticence to talk about emotion due to fear of receiving dis-approval for breaking feeling rules (Hochschild, 1983) (anticipation of shame response, Scheff, Retzinger, 2001) • Lack of dialogue with the self about emotional experience • Strict restraint of inquiry and challenge of authority internalized as emotionally dangerous • Anticipated or remembered harsh experiences of revealing emotions create expectations of negative result and partition off the emotional core self-feelings. Emotional numbness and suppression become habitual.	• Display of emotion and talk about emotion creates anxiety and fear of loss of control. Associated with internal self deprecating voice that is a reminder that professional is unemotional. Unable or unwilling to explain how person is feeling or how feelings developed. • 'Feeling rules' define feelings and particularly display. Non-conforming feelings are rejected or denied. • Difficulty finding words to describe emotional experience in the context of interactions with the other.	I would not say to the administrator that I don't think that was justified. And that I thought it was a very unfair comment. I will always support administration in any decision that they want to make. If administration says, "this is what you are going to do", then I will say, "fine, that is what I will do". I may not always agree with it but I will find that it is something I will carry through.	one of the fears of leadership is exposing too many weaknesses. I have been described as needing to be in charge, not liking changes. This is true to some degree. ... What is uncomfortable is not knowing. leaders are in a no win situation ... people respond to you from their own experiences of leadership in the last educational setting they were in, and this is often trapped "in their emotions of how they interacted with the school principal when they were at school!" I believe they take this "emotional fear" . . . and weave it around an image of power, which many perceived as a child, and often dump this on the educational leader they meet as a staff member.

[2] Contents of this column in Tables 1- 4 were derived from Brew (2001), (who created this integrated perspective from Belenky et al., (1986/1997) and Baxter Magolda (1992)) and from Baxter Magolda (1992) directly. Italicized text in this column is directly quoted from Brew(2001). Gendered implications of this framework will be considered in (Beatty and Brew, forthcoming).

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Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives[2]	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum with the epistemological perspectives
*Role of the 'teacher'*** • *Passive, reactive and dependent on external authority for direction and truth (27, 29)* • *Authorities tell you what is right* "Wordless mindless authorities carry great weight" (28) • "Like puppets …to hear is to obey" (28) • "Words are perceived as weapons" (28)	Emotional role of the 'other'* • The person experiencing the emotion remains passive, reactive and dependent on externally defined 'feeling rules' (Hochschild, 1983) which are experienced as co-maintained with the 'other', in whose mind is imagined judgement of the self should the feeling rules be broken. • Emotions are experienced as powerfully manipulative or weapon like in others. • One's own emotions are experienced as dangerous and frightening • Immediate emotional response in self conceals deeper emotional issues * teacher/leader	• The 'other' is seen as potentially dangerous, intimidating or threatening if emotional experience surfaces in display or discussion. • Dependence on approval of others to feel safe • Unable or disinclined to admit to strong feelings of uncertainty, confusion and especially disagreement or critique • Conversely, over inclined to use strong feelings in statements of disapproval that reinforce power and authority over others. Silenced and denied feelings of deeper emotions of threat and fear lead to overt displays of overt certainty and judgement about right and wrong.	She said to me she wanted to know why I was the perpetrator of negative attitudes in the school and that over the Christmas holidays I had better change my tune and come back in January with a new attitude. I was totally flabbergasted. I am the head of the social committee and I sort of take on everybody's problems as my own. If everybody is down then I am down. I tried to pull everybody together as a team and to have fun and then she pulls that on me. I was so surprised that she had that impression of me. … a pretty awful thing to say when you stand for exactly the opposite. That dug deep and I have never been able to quite get over that.	I worked for (most definitely not with), a very autocratic head for four years yet no one ever challenged her. Intelligent people stayed quiet. That staff room was the most bitchy, gossip ridden place I have ever been. Is there a connection? Sometimes I forget that I am an authority figure and don't allow for that reaction. Sometimes I also realise that some people forget that I am a person too. In schools, teachers are reluctant to speak up if they are wronged in some way by the principal. The biggest barrier to good relationships in schools it seems to me is this lack of frankness, perfectly understandable though it is. … In the absence of truth how can there be trust and how can emotionally healthy relationships develop.
Role of peers • *An inability to find meaning in the words of others or learn from others' experience (26)* • Little experience with face to face outer speech to development of inner speech and sense of mind (33) **Page numbers refer to Belenky et al. (1997)*	Experiencing emotional meaning with peers • Fear or disinclination to make meaning using one's own emotions or those of others or to learn about self and others from others' emotional experience • Little experience with or success with face to face emotional meaning making and undeveloped inner voice about emotions as valuable dimension of mind.	• Professional 'others' play no legitimate role as peers in emotional meaning making as emotional distance and emotional masking (Hochschild, 1983) separates them. • Emotional understanding is not developed or shared and remains spurious (Denzin, 1984) as it is not discussed.		

Absolute emotional knowing

Absolute emotional knowing, the next modality in the progression, is characterized by strict adherence to tacitly understood but fairly rigidly re-enacted and co-maintained feeling rules (Hochschild, 1983) in a given work culture. These feeling rules or norms of emotionality prescribe and proscribe the acceptable from the unacceptable emotions. This modality is associated with managing the projected self in a fairly conscious way, to seem to be feeling the 'right thing' at the 'right' time. The notion of absoluteness is implied by the guiding principle of rightness and wrongness. As in the silenced emotional self, a person operating under the absolutist emotional knowing modality is looking outside of her/himself for the right answers and the guidelines about what feelings are appropriate to their professional image. In the process the core self is often denied, repressed or ignored in deference to an external emotional authority that seems to reside in others and their endorsement and reinforcement of these feeling rules. Emotional self is often silenced in the absolutist modality, while the emotional labour of projecting appropriate emotions becomes more of a conscious effort some of the time.

Leaders felt the need to seem certain, decisive and confident, even when they were feeling none of these things. They managed their inner emotions as they tried to project a cheerful face and set a positive tone. Thus the externally defined authority of prototypical leadership behaviour and leadership 'feeling rules' (Hochschild, 1983) was defining what they should and should not feel and seem to feel. This was also prescribing the additional emotional work of seeming to feel, or deeply acting until they convinced themselves that they actually were feeling appropriately. Despite the 'good intentions this emotional surface and deep acting (Hochschild, 1983) was often distancing them from themselves and others and was adding to the overall emotional burden of being the principal.

The leaders spoke of being isolated and lonely cut off from their colleagues, like conductors, "one of them but separate". Connecting in candour with teachers was seen by some leaders as unprofessional. For others this was difficult and rare. In contrast, for all but one of the online leaders, the shared moral purpose with their assistant principals or deputies revealed a powerful manifestation of Hargreaves' (2000) moral geographies frame. Their shared moral purpose made their professional relationship important and enduring. Connecting professionally with assistant principals was permissible, but they did not do so in deep reflection or self-analysis. These were pragmatic support relationships, that most of the leaders highly valued, but they were not open to the deeper self-discovery that they experienced online. They did not disturb the deeper emotional silence within but helped the leader maintain the absolutist emotional epistemological perspective of 'right' and 'wrong'.

The sense that these leaders in taking on the role of the principal had become strongly identified with their schools was evident in their feelings about criticisms, which they experienced emotionally as reflecting directly on them. This school wide identification was not in evidence in the 100 teachers' stories about emotions and their work. Teachers identified most strongly and were emotionally passionate about their work with students in classrooms. They decried the principal's whole school image priorities, which they felt were to the detriment of classroom focus and emphasis. This suggests a difference between the emotional experience of teachers from that of school leaders, a difference which keeps teachers and leaders out of alignment with each other in terms of shared moral purpose (Beatty, 2001) and interferes with connectedness and creating emotional context together.

In contrast to the emotional distance from teachers that was experienced by most of the online leaders, the three leaders who were headteachers in the literal sense, still teaching a class

of their own, connected in emotionally meaningful ways with their fellow teachers. But this was entirely separate from their roles as supervisors. Generally, as supervisors, they felt they could not get close to teachers, whom they often referred to in objectified terms, as 'glue' or 'bullies' 'not a team player' 'blocking faction' or 'children'. It was not that they couldn't recall their own sense of being treated like children, as one leader said, *"I think a lot of us have got a lot of years of bitterness .... being treated like children to forget."* However, the sense that they were often the only adults in the building was frustrating and emotionally distancing : *" I sometimes feel as I did when dealing with my children at home in a tantrum. Being the adult with other adults behaving like kids is quite an act!"* and *"she's just not 'got it'.... I feel betrayed, personally and professionally, furious that I should have to deal with this sort of tantrum, angry for my colleagues; and the longer it goes on (a month so far)the more cross I become."* Another leader lamented the time it took to deal with a problem staff member who she recalled as *"the most awkward, cantankerous, stirring, unpleasant person whenever she is challenged or made to be accountable."* As a result the staff member felt like a waste of time: *"My emotions: constantly angry and irritated by her but have to work really hard not to let it show. Tired (is that an emotion?) because of the amount of time taken up dealing with her ...you know 80% of time for 20% of establishment....totally disproportionate!!"* These descriptions suggest the leaders were held in the grasp of absolutist emotional knowing, whereby people are experienced through their own emotional meaning making system as right or wrong. Constant anger at the teacher reflected the power of the above leader's emotional epistemological perspective whereby the teacher was merely wrong and a waste of time, her behaviour and emotions only a source of irritation. They were not storying and restorying themselves together in interacting narratives (Beattie, 1995). Indeed, they were apparently not connecting emotionally at all. There was strong evidence in these kinds of stories, of emotional labour to manage and control their own emotions, and little evidence of becoming involved in cooperative emotional meaning making with the teachers.

Emotions were sometimes used by both teachers and leaders, to separate and diminish people rather than connect and empower them. The silent teachers worried that they would be punished just for using words- any words about how they were really feeling. The silent leaders and teachers lived cut off from each other in a world full of rumour and innuendo. When words arose out of anger, they provoked anger. Yet there was little evidence of constructive dialogue between teachers and leaders who were having difficulties with each other. More often than not the teachers' stories of emotionally painful memories were associated with buried hurt and untended wounds. Some teachers "never quite got over" these experiences. Among the emotionally silent teachers there was little indication of emotional dialogue with "the self".

Table 2. Absolute emotional knower

Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum that resonate with the epistemological perspectives
Domain: perception of knowledge • *One is either right or wrong, good or bad* *(B 37, 41; BM 74)*	Perception of emotional knowledge • Experience rightness and wrongness as a function of emotional response of self and spurious (imagined and unconfirmed) emotional understanding (Denzin, 1984) of others	• Teachers and leaders experience emotional meaning in response to each other. e.g., feeling slighted and demeaned, a shame response begets anger. Anger is interpreted as the need to direct meaning making efforts in terms of blame and criticism of the other	... He had no idea what as a person I wanted to do or what I wanted to aspire to, my career goal, and I just felt like a number. It didn't matter what I wanted, it was what needed to be done administratively. And this is the way she works. She's very demanding. She demands a lot from herself, but she won't ever accept when someone's made a mistake, and she makes lots of them.	the emotional bully --a very strong woman who used anger and a loud voice to manipulate /control situations and people ---used the fear of anger to frighten and bully others into agreement. This was later coupled with tears etc. This provided a real learning environment where strategies for avoiding "Emotional Decision Making" -became a survival necessity
• *Confused by ambiguity*	• Conflicting emotional responses in self and others confuse and complicate rather than provide interesting potential for meaning making.	• Teachers and leaders experience each other's and their own emotionality as disturbing, contradictory problematic and complicating rather than an opportunity to make meaning together • Quick rationalizations are often used to restore sense of emotional equilibrium (James, 1890)	She wrote me a personal letter of congratulations and seemed really pleased with the result. That made me feel good...[but]...it was so long in coming. ...I guess it was about time. I had feelings of resentment in the sense that is it so hard to say you did a good job? Why couldn't she do that more often?	... I am sometimes puzzled by what seem to be extreme reactions to things that happen I am particularly conscious of the need and importance of setting a positive, cheerful and understanding tone each day to counteract the negatives that some staff members carry with them into the building
Domain: role of learner • *Reproduce knowledge of authority. Unable to evaluate or perceive a process in learning (B 39, 42; BM 73)*	Inner emotional knowing • Emotion is experienced through reproducing externally defined feeling rules that originate in the external authority of the culture. Yet the emotions are experienced as originating in the self and as absolute reality (Sartre, 1939/1962) at the time. The emotionally driven sense of entitlement to rightness of one's own feelings of position and	• Based on unexamined emotional responses, evaluation of teachers and leaders occurs automatically following the rubric of feeling rules such that the other is experienced as strange. The person is quickly reduced to a category, such as an object, a child or an incompetent, or other label, depersonalizing and reducing the sense of the whole fully dimensional adult	I don't know what it is. She is a control freak. She tries to keep you under her thumb and if she doesn't feel that she has control over you then she gets a little upset herself. I think that if you have personalities who, enjoy dominating, ... being basically a sadistic narcissist, ...then you're going to end up with, experiences like that.	[I] realise that an adult dealing with teenagers all day sometimes probably has the need to behave in childish ways from time to time. I sometimes feel as I did when dealing with my children at home in a tantrum. Being the adult with other adults behaving like kids is quite an act!" With staff especially, I find that they need an overwhelming amount of support and that I must always be ~~the calm, helpful and understanding~~

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Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum that resonate with the epistemological perspectives
• *Incapable of original work*	feelings of position and corresponding wrongness of others' feelings or the opposite, shame, remains unexamined. Deeper levels of emotional self are not explored. • Lack of examination of core self-'s internal emotional experience as valid alternative to normative feeling rules when dissonant with the culture.	individual. • Self may be viewed in relative terms as inferior or superior to the other. • Teachers and leaders resist questioning their emotional compliance with feeling rules and do not defer to their own independent emotional knowings • Emotional connection with inner self-feelings are often avoided	It can be frustrating for a point of time … obviously for a few minutes, an hour or whatever. You may want to grind your teeth a little bit … If an administrator tells you how we are going to handle a situation you may not necessarily agree … but your job is to implement the decision.	the calm, helpful and understanding "parent". They resist me by saying "We are not intimate enough for you to share your feelings with me." This happened when I told a teacher I was angry at his attempt to put me down during a Leadership meeting! The fact that I am even asking him what happened he sees as an insult and he's running around saying "At this school the students have more power than the teachers". Just the word "power" makes me see red. Teachers who see their role in terms of "power" make me despair. I look to master teachers to help me set the direction, [. . .] the blocking faction has always been defiant and is now responding to my efforts to get at the more abstract climate issues like tone and expectations that we hold in our hearts. They also tell me I cannot make judgment calls… How do you get at the subtle ways people undermine the optimism of a staff?
*Domain: Role of 'teacher'*** • *Capable of learning but truth is derived from external authorities (B 37)*	Emotional role of the 'other' ** teachers/leaders • The other's (externally located) imagined 'emotional truth' is given authority over the self's actual feelings and accordingly feelings are masked or generated (Hochschild, 1983)	Teachers and leaders govern emotionality according to perceived emotions of the other which override other priorities and undermine independent internal emotional meaning making systems.	He took some of the money that was in a fund raising thing. And that never went back into the school. I didn't say anything. … He closed the door and I stood right by the door and he just kind of leaned into my ear and said, "You're best to forget about this." He directed me out the door and that was it. So I didn't trust him anymore. That makes a difference how you teach … So that feeling, it's always fear. It was always fear. And you think I don't want a bad interaction between a principal and I, and	Why do I mask my emotions? Usually when the conversation I am in is an emotional issue for the other person, emotionally challenging. Where I find it difficult is in letting my own frustrations show … I know that most people never see it. Is there a formula for getting this *right*?! Isn't it something we all do - hide emotion and appear "professional" and "detached"? We desperately try everyday to be light hearted and make the job 'fun" but some days I know they go home

Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum that resonate with the epistemological perspectives
• *Teacher's role is to provide knowledge and students accept it (BM 76)*	• The other's emotional attitude takes emotional authority and sets the tone for the exchange of meaning. Emotional contagion (Denzin(1984) infects the emotional meaning making systems of self and other	• Teachers and leaders sometimes allow each other's dominant emotions to set the tone in an exchange without examining these together	between a principal and I, and yet there it was. [Positional authority of leader combined with the anticipated power of his fear make him dangerous and frightening to the teacher and undermine internal sense of morality] He called me in and said, "You've been charged with being" … all those terrible words. … That's half the reason I wanted out last year because I felt so crummy in front of the principal that you're supposed to feel good about. I felt he had this attitude. … I was humiliated all year long. My self-esteem was really, I couldn't do anything.	feeling like they've been on the battle line all day. I do not feel that I can share my concerns with the AP and DP. … Other staff it would not be appropriate to share with. Unprofessional, I should think. This teacher took the line that if I'd known anything about teaching I wouldn't have wanted to be a deputy, because everyone knew it was the way to escape real work. I saw red, told him that everyone knew that he was a frustrated manager …perhaps he would one day have the guts to do something about his opinions instead of bullying staff and pupils.
Domain: Role of peers • *Peers do not have legitimate knowledge, but can share knowledge obtained from authorities (B 39; BM 78, 79)*	Experiencing emotional meaning with peers • Peers do not offer deeper emotional knowledge, or assist in deepening emotional epistemological understanding although they are sympathetic. Self and peers remain responsive to feeling rules. Peers assist in reinforcing and supporting ways to stay in compliance with cultural norms.	Within their own groups, teachers and leaders assist each other in supporting by listening to and affirming even 'unacceptable' emotions. They support the emotional labour of finding the 'right' way to return to masking and generating emotions that match the feeling rules.	I think the most positive emotion is support. There is only one person I could go to and say anything to and if I need to vent I can vent to her. If I'm not sure of what route to take, she can guide me; she knows the *right* things to say. Generally (what's positive is) the informal kinds of things where people listen and pay attention to the kinds of things that you shared with them…I value that, just casual time with people I can respect or communicate with - and they listen and appreciate the kinds of things that I do.[3]	Whilst I have colleagues with whom I can discuss freely and honestly, inevitably we operate a shorthand style of thinking, because of shared perceptions. My other source of support is my deputy. She's wonderful. She has a great in-built empathy and seems to read emotions - when I'm feeling totally at the end of my tether - she appears with a cup of coffee!! I wished my colleagues would interact on a deeper level, …my 'real life' ones. …The virtual conversations were considerably deeper than we usually manage face to face.

[3] Excerpts in quotation marks in this column are taken from teacher colleague data of the same larger study – (Hargreaves, 2001)

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Transitional relativism

After the online forum had been underway for a time, the leaders began to revisit their perspectives on some of their teachers, and met with some success in trying to get to know these problem people as fully dimensional human beings. Yet attempts to access emotions of the teachers were unsuccessful when the leaders were unable to share what they were feeling first. One leader lamented a teacher's inability to share his feelings with her despite his willingness to go to his students' parents for support. Yet in interview with him, she had not shared her own emotional experience, which may have accounted for the conversation being so stiff, disconnected and unfruitful. Another leader was told by a teacher that she did not know her well enough for her to be sharing her feelings.

> He said it was because I called his behavior rude. I think he is in with a team of teachers who can be disrespectful to parents and they feel justified in it. Going after these abstract issues is so difficult. They color the climate of the school, but are so hard to pin down. I could have easily let it go, but I don't want him to be like his team. For me, this is the most emotional side of working closely with staff. My veteran staff deny these issues and tell you it's unprofessional to make judgement calls or talk about feelings. Right now I am so frustrated. And...I wish I had said "some people will be offended when you walk away without saying excuse me." Or "she thought you were being rude" instead of "it is rude to leave a conversation without walking away." I let all my bias about his team mates color my response to him. Big mistake.

In effect, emotionally they were living separate worlds that seemed to be alarmingly misaligned much of the time. Despite the secret desire for connection both leaders and teachers were self-surveilling and correspondingly self-silencing in the effort to stay out of contentious terrain. Yet this was taking a toll on their ability to experience relationship with each other.

Emotional jolts encountered upon trespassing into unwelcome emotional territory of others or in revealing too much of the emotional subjectivity of the self, serve to remind the absolute emotional knower in emotionally experienced, often viscerally painful ways, that s/he has crossed a line. Even though there may be transitional potential, when a person remains in the absolute knower modality on such occasions, the emotional jolt itself is enough to reinforce the feeling rule in question. Such occasions serve as reinforcers for the absolutist emotional epistemological perspective. Left unexamined, such emotional meaning making is exceedingly powerful, and I would argue is the self-replicating mechanism of bureaucratic hierarchy. It is precisely in its emotional intensity, when coupled with unexamined deeper inner self-feelings that such emotional information is taken as absolute reality (Sartre, 1939/1962). The absolute emotional knower modality leaves the self and its emotional epistemology unquestioned and ensures the continuance of careful self-surveillance (Foucault, 1988) to avoid future emotional shocks. In this way it operates as a meaning making system unto itself, powerful, unchallenged and unchanged.

Occasionally we experience moments that are loaded with potential to make a transition from overmanaged hidden professional selves to becoming emotionally integrated connected colleagues. When open display breaks the usually smooth surface of professional discourse, while the potential is present, more often than not, the person feels vulnerable and exposed, even ashamed of the emotions themselves (Scheff & Retzinger, 2001). It was reassuring to see that there were exceptions to the pattern of silence and absolutism. And these were significant. They describe a more relativist

emotional meaning making capacity. Signs of emotional connectedness were often subtle. One teacher's positive emotional memory was a look of approval she caught from her vice principal when she had handled a difficult situation on a field trip. Not always is it necessary to literally give voice to emotions. For this teacher the look had spoken volumes and affirmed her professional worth in her administrator's eyes.

Generally though, unless emotions intrude upon otherwise rational and reasoned conversations which are more normatively denuded of their emotional flavour, the emotional dimension remains silent though still running deep. From time to time, certain socially experienced circumstances can create opportunities for the emotional self to emerge as an important authority in emotional meaning making. While this can and certainly does occur for many people occasionally when alone, for such occasions at work there is the chance to experience the emotional core to the professional self as fully present and powerful. Such circumstances may include an ecstatic declaration of joy, excitement or love, an angry outburst, a dissolving into sadness and tears or an overwhelming energy draining depression. In each of these states, the emotional self is engulfing, drenching the usually arid space between the carefully projected self and the inner emotional experience of the individual. At such times the connection with the core self feels absolute and complete. In effect, through the internal emotional meaning making system with the projected self and others, the inner core is demanding attention and connection. Such occasions are potentially transitional as, for the moment, the usually highly managed and distanced inner emotional experience is congruent with the outer self. But such occasions are not necessarily encouraged or rewarded. Persons may be labelled as 'losing it' (i.e. control) or coming apart. Such behaviour is often seen as out of keeping with the normative ethic of control and flat affective expression. Embarrassment humiliation and shame may result. A teacher who broke the silence on his emotions, confronting his principal about being declared surplus, was told that his personality was the problem. He was livid having been overcommitted to his classroom and extracurricular contributions. He took some satisfaction from being able to shame his principal into turning red. The shame and blame sequence was clear in this story. Yet there was little if any emotional connection in the positive sense. Simply blurting emotions does not create transformation in relationship. Valuing and connecting in an ethic of care is essential if emotional meaning making is to create the transition to relativist perspectives. Sanctions of various kinds for frankness and emotional display even positive, ecstatic demonstrations are not unusual. More often than not, they stand as emotional lessons in what not to do.

As Belenky et al (1997) have noted,

> In the ordinary course of development, the use of play metaphors gives way to language – a consensually validated symbol system – allowing for more precise communication of meanings between persons. Outer speech becomes increasingly internalized as it is transformed into inner speech. …without playing, conversing, listening to others, and drawing out their own voice, people fail to develop a sense that they can talk and think things through. (Belenky et al., 1997:33)

In the Western world, even in the ordinary course of development, the language of emotion is impoverished. While emotions are pervasive, and omnipresent, we have few words for them and voice the meagre vocabulary of emotion rarely. Since outer speech

about emotion is rare, internalized emotional meaning making is less likely to have developed into inner speech. Without the opportunity to draw out our emotional voices, people in Western societies often fail to develop the sense that they can talk about emotions and make emotional meanings at all, whether alone or with others.

Less intense emotional experiences can also present the possibility of experiencing connection to the core self and the core self of others. But it is unlikely that this emotional meaning making will be accessed and affirmed or used at all if the culture is not conducive or supportive to valuing emotional meaning and exploring it openly. Instead, as is more often the case with the absolute emotional knowing modality, these emotional inklings can be habitually banished, replaced by professional numbness and detachment in the daily round, as one attempts to retain professional safety.

Yet we can learn to language about our emotions. When an invitation is made to consider emotional meaning together it may be met with withdrawal and negation rather than reciprocation if not part of the culture. Such moments are filled with potential for transitional relativism. This occurs when, under one circumstance or another, emotional meaning making that connects the core self with emotional experience in the company of others who are doing the same thing, provides the bridge to deepened emotional understanding of self and others and their professional purposes.

Teachers and leaders who were given safe spaces to contemplate and share their emotional meaning making processes with a trusted other began to tell stories that were rich and deep. They told of feeling one way and acting another. They told of silencing themselves and lamenting the emotional silence of others. And they told of delightful exceptions to emotional distance between themselves and their leaders. While stories of verbalised emotional connection were rare in the teacher interviews, when they did occur they were striking in their valence or weight and significance. Leaders who "treated even members of staff as human beings" and those who made them feel that they "knew what you were about" were celebrated and recalled with joy and warmth. Teachers told of moving schools to be with such leaders, and moving away from others who were disrespectful and damaging. When they could connect with others emotionally, they could see the other person's point of view.

This is the nature of transitional relativism. Feeling safe and entitled to one's own emotional meaning making and respected for one's unique subjectivities more than just one's ability to tow the professional mark. This condition paves the way to connected and contextual acknowledgement of different perspectives. Such circumstances, no matter what has brought two people together, or what has formerly kept them apart, involve the affirmation of emotion and/or emotional meanings of self and others. This is what creates the bridge. In the teacher interviews, three stories of emotional wounds and longstanding pain having been instantly expunged with an apology from a leader stand in contrast to countless stories of unaddressed injustice, rage and shame with which they had suffered in silence. An affective bridge, shared in asymmetrical reciprocity (Young, 1999) wherein there is no assumption that I know exactly what you are feeling, but there is respect for and acknowledgement of the emotional meaning of the other, lowers the barriers of distrust and closes the gap of fear between people. The critical ingredient is openness to different perspectives, creating the emotional expectation of safety and respect.

Table 3. Transitional Relativism

Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives (Brew, 2001)	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum with the epistemological perspectives
Domain: Perception of knowledge • *Some knowledge is uncertain but still believe absolute knowledge exists (BM 107)* • *Recognition that some knowledge can be viewed in more than one way (BM 105)* • *Subjectivity: viewing truth as personal, private, intuited (B 54, 56)* • *Subjectivity: answers from outside world can be discarded (B 54)*	Perception of emotional knowledge • Some emotional experiences and how to interpret them are not clear. Yet the inclination to determine the right and wrong ways of feeling persists in the desire to return to certainty. • Some emotional experiences are considered as open to interpretation. • The process of multiple interpretations can become validated more than one way. • Openness to potential in relationship and shared meaning making. • Self's subjective emotional meaning making becomes significant and valid	• Teachers and leaders become aware of emotional experiences of self and others as important and valuable to meaning making even in the midst of conflict and dissent • Teachers and leaders begin to see their own and each others' emotional meanings as open to interpretation in different ways • Teachers and leaders begin to attach significance to each other's subjective emotional meaning making	And I'm annoyed with that person and I'm also annoyed that it puts more of the responsibility on me; instead of being able to say that I've got this good relationship with the VP and the two of us can work through some of these problems together … …without being able to go to that person and say, "Let's work as a team on this." Another thing is that you are given all of these things and a lot of teachers I think blindly accept it. I get concerned about that. They don't seem to question things. A lot of teachers just accept that. I question it and say "Well why do that?" I think you need to question things. I don't think you should accept everything that comes down.	I just wish that I'd taken the time to 'read' him before I reacted emotionally to his loud and hectoring manner Yes –I am interested in Emotional Leadership—I am Constantly Reflecting –on what has happened, why and how as an effective leader I could have acted differently to prevent this situation developing
Domain: Role of learner • *A shift in focus from acquiring information to understanding (BM 105)*	Inner emotional knowing • A shift in emphasis from taking emotional experiences as absolute to considering them as resources for understanding • Increased interest in emotional understanding of self and others, yet with a tendency to revert to seek right answers while glimpsing of potential for the experiences of emotionally integrated self-feelings	• As one or the other invites engagement, greater emotional understanding becomes possible and sometimes begins to develop but not always • Inclination to look for the 'right' way persists, although a more relative appreciation of diverse perspectives begins	I went to her to try to explain that I thought it wasn't really fair for her to yell at me in front of other people. … But she still thought that I did wrong, my intentions may have been right, but I interfered and am not to do it again.	I experienced the use of silence as a response to anger that exercised power. In inviting an older teacher to discuss some professionally questionable actions I was met with silence and intense eye contact. All attempts to foster discussion were met with silence. The only response after a very prolonged silence was "have you finished can I go now?" While I was angry and threatened I had to admit to myself during the tirade that it was my own fault. I felt alone, stripped bare and really close to giving it all up.

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Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives (Brew, 2001)	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum with the epistemological perspectives
*Domain: Role of 'teacher'*** • *To use methods aimed at understanding (BM 105)* • *To create rapport between students, and encourage self expression (BM 114)* • *To challenge students to think and to focus on understanding (BM 114)*	Emotional role of the other ** teachers/leaders • The other is invited or challenged to become involved with the emotional meaning of the self and others. • The other is ideally interested in and emotionally committed to the emotional meanings of the self • The other becomes involved in challenges of emotional understanding. There is potential mutual engagement and increased emotional understanding	Leaders and teachers begin to pursue opportunities to explore emotional meanings together • Teachers and leaders 'move toward the danger' (Maurer, 1995) of engaging in emotional matters, through various kinds of self-disclosure, sometimes in controlled discussion, sometimes in open display of the actual emotion. • Counter-culturally, and thus counterintuitively, the other is considered and invited to engage as a potential partner in shared emotional meaning making • Reciprocal emotional meaning making exchanges create opportunities for deepened emotional understanding of the self and other	So I went down and said my two cents worth about the fact that, "Don't you realize that you've got people really pissed off. And that you've got some people here who don't feel as though their feelings count because you're making these decisions. And I know your decision is probably the bottom line. But..." And it was a little patting of the head. And I was very angry about that. The principal who hired my department head over me recently retired and he called me into his office and said "my biggest mistake at [the school] involved you and I am really sorry that this happened. It should never have happened." That made me feel really good that he did realize there was a mistake made. ...He didn't have to say that to me. [T]he best principal that I've ever been under, ... she really cares for the kids more than any other principal I've worked for. And this is really important to me. ... she's always there. I really like her for being that way.	A bit of honest temper on my part seems to have worked more effectively than previous hours of discussion. And I think, partially, because staff do forget you're human, and argue with the position not the person. I'm sure because of the past many of them just 'switch off, they make the right noises at the time, but then go away to do just what they've always done. I'm not sure they understand just how frustrated I am because I try to keep calm in their presence, keeping things 'professional' – perhaps I should tell them! Some of the most relaxed and natural conversations I enjoy are with my colleagues talking about a teaching issue. We are all 'real' and they know I'm not listening to assess them, but to learn myself. ... I'm back at my point about truth and integrity, especially from the leadership. If all utterances are false, neither praise nor advice will have significance. The trick is to give and receive advice or criticism in an open, responsive way, not defensive. Gradually I have realised that he is an only child and hates not being the centre of attention. ... over the past three years he has gradually thawed. He comes for advice, discusses his children, jokes with me. There wasn't a magic cure, or even a set of activities I undertook. I realised I just had to let him work it out; ... Recently we actually talked

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Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives (Brew, 2001)	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum with the epistemological perspectives
				about his perceptions of the school, me, his future, his career. He admits to feeling trapped
Domain: Role of peers • *Peers take on a more active role (BM 105)* • *Greater interest in the views of peers as they provide exposure to new ideas (BM 134, 114)*	Experiencing emotional meaning with peers • Peers take on a more active role in the person's emotional meaning making • Greater interest in the emotional meanings of others is experimented with by engaging in reflective collaborative emotional meaning making	Teachers within their own groups and leaders in theirs, in the safety of peer relationships with trusted others, develop deeper critical friendships that allow them to critique each other's work without threatening the more fully dimensional and culturally supported professional self.	It took us about three years to come together as a team…It was kind of like a marriage. We knew when one started to talk what the next response was going to be. It made learning and teaching really exciting because there was that sharing. When something happened with a student, you shared your observation and it was the very best of teaching.	I never gave much thought to how the other staff felt until now! I must have been awful to work with. [I am learning about] my style of leadership and its impact (or perceived impact) on those working with me. It has helped me be more analytical about the effects leaders have on their staff and hopefully I try to adapt to fit in with the needs of those working with me [Sharing emotional self with peers on line gave rise to these kinds of revelations about emotional impacts on others]

Resilient relativism: connected contextual emotional knowing

The final modality is Resilient relativism: connected and contextual emotional knowing. When this sharing of emotional meaning making works, as it did most powerfully in the online leadership conversation, there is emotional epistemological deepening, a discovery of self and other, which empowers capacities to know and be known in emotional ways. This is the process of storying and restorying (Beattie, 1995) of having one's stories interact with another's and thereby creating and recreating relationship and professional meaning together. Leaders online together, began to consider their emotional experiences as valid, meaningful and useful. This was explicitly reported both in their discussion of the online process at the time of the forum and in exit questionnaire responses and follow up e-mail updates a year later. In the process of sharing their emotional meanings with their colleagues there was evidence of a changing role of peers, from pragmatic allies to reflective partners. The discussion of emotion online created changes in their ways of knowing and seeing themselves and others. Distances between themselves and teachers on staff were revisited, and a more fully dimensional view of these teachers allowed them to rethink and reexperience these people in emotionally contextual ways. Recalling a public altercation with a teacher, one leader recounted the story.

> I saw red, and told him that everyone knew that he shouted the odds because he was a frustrated manager himself, and that instead of criticising every management decision ever made perhaps he would one day have the guts to actually do something about his opinions instead of bullying staff and pupils alike. What made the situation even worse was that the meeting applauded; he got up and stormed out of the room. Even at the time I didn't feel any triumph; I only felt the rising tension in my stomach as I felt myself 'lose' it. Over the following couple of weeks civilities were resumed. Over the past five years I have watched him and gradually come to realise that he would never have the confidence to pit himself at interview against anyone; he swings between believing he wouldn't get a fair hearing to putting down the whole system of school appointments. Gradually I have also realised that he is an only child and hates not being the centre of attention.

Then, in the context of working online with her colleagues, the leader made more of a connection with the teacher.

> Recently we actually talked about his perceptions of the school, me, his future, his career. He admits to feeling trapped, but has begun to see that he himself made a decision about that over ten years ago. … I just wish that I'd taken the time to 'read' him before I reacted emotionally to his loud and hectoring manner. But then again, since that occasion I have tried to remember my disappointment in myself when faced with similar people, so maybe it wasn't all a total loss. But then maybe that's just me looking for self justification.

In this story, there is evidence of the feeling rules about "losing it" and about the wish to read people emotionally before reacting to people emotionally. The usefulness of the leader's emotional meaning making system is suggested by her ability to reflect on the situation in emotional ways, and by her ability to go back to the teacher after over five years, and begin to connect with him. She also takes some comfort, despite her regret, for having learned from her experience. This emotional processing to balance the damage with the learning is part of the relativist emotional way of experiencing, that is enhanced through the use of the emotional lens.

Reflection, which was not always simple or swift, became part of the leaders' praxis and emotional meaning making on the go, created the sense of more time and space, not less, as they made room for themselves in a more emotionally integrated experience of their own minds. Evidence of resilient relativism and connected contextual knowing began to appear in the online forum and was explicit in the exit interviews. One leader had been asked how she found the time to participate in the online forum. She acknowledged that at first it seemed difficult but as the forum progressed she declared, "I've mentioned this forum, although not its contents, and the majority response has been 'how do you find the time?' Now I know I need to find the time." Leaders had begun to experience ways of making emotional meaning with their peers and on the go, in their work, and they liked it. They also delighted in being known in connection with their peers, which affirmed their emotional selves, and added a new dimension to their emotional epistemologies. The process is fluid and active. It is depicted as a spiral progression that loops back and forth in an ever deepening emotional epistemology. See Figure 1.

Table 4. Resilient relativism: connected contextual emotional knowing

Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives (Brew, 2001)	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum with the epistemological perspectives
Domain: Perception of knowledge • *Knowledge is inherently uncertain and open to many interpretations (BM 137, 146) – Not troubled by ambiguity, and are enticed by its complexity (B 137, 139, 140)* • *Intuition may deceive, truth is not immediately accessible. Speaking often requires conscious, deliberate, systematic analysis (B 93, 94)* • *Knowledge is contextual, to be judged on the basis of evidence (BM 171; B 138)* • *Some ideas are more valid than others (BM 170), some truths are truer than others (B 93)*	Perception of emotional knowledge occurs in an integrated self that is no longer divided or isolated from others • Emotional knowing is experienced as inherently uncertain and open to many interpretations. Emotional disturbance that creates ambiguity is treated with interest and increasing confidence. • Despite initial feelings and first emotional responses, emotional knowing is understood to require deeper counterintuitive search for meaning. • The process of searching for emotional meaning deepens broadens to include not only one's own deeper and wider emotional contexts but also those of others. • Contextual emotional knowing becomes a part of one's integrated sense of judgement and meaning making alone and with others	Leaders and teachers who are engaged in resilient connected contextual emotional knowing can and do make meaning together. • Differing perspectives are shared and discussed openly and frequently, in an embraced 'pedagogy of discomfort' (Boler, 1999). Even when emotions are disturbing, the commitment to connectedness ensures enduring relationship. • Making emotional meaning with others becomes a habit of mind • Emotional meaning making becomes one of many valid ways of exploring and interpreting • The broadest context is sought in order to determine optimal interpretations in an inclusive and integrative process of emotionally contextualized, shared assessment and meaning making	Our VP here is very supportive. And I think it's the ability to go in and see her and not feel that we are interrupting…Every time that I go to see her, I always feel that my concern or problem or situation is an important one and she gives me the time for that and I have a lot of respect for that in the sense that she does that without making me feel that I have to hurry through. …I find that very reinforcing as a teacher because I feel I'm being listened to by her.	I have such a need to have people like me or want to work with me that I sometimes tend to operate from a skewed perspective. I also want people to feel supported and encouraged to take risks, but feel that I may be preventing them from growing through my overprotective approach. I often wonder if others feel themselves fluctuating as much as I do. Critical turning points are fundamentally emotional. … because I wouldn't have made that development if I hadn't been confronted by a significant 'pain'. I know that it can be argued that previous events can also embitter and shutter us, but that is, I think, still essentially a personal choice. So, on balance, I hope I don't make too many more mistakes, but that when I do that I learn practically and emotionally from them.
Domain: Role of learner • *The development of individually created perspectives is enhanced because the risk of being wrong is eliminated (BM 146)*	Inner emotional knowing • The ability to 'move toward the danger' (Maurer, 1995) of emotional territory is enhanced through the validation of inner emotions. The fear of being wrong is eliminated.	• Courage to enter contentious and sensitive emotional territory and to catalyze critical collaboration builds with experience and shared practice	Rather than hold a grudge, I just accepted the situation as it was. I told her that I didn't appreciate how she made me feel, and I didn't appreciate how she was speaking to me and left it at that, because that's all I could do. And we talk, and we joke around still. We still have a fine relationship, but she knows how I felt.	When I replay key emotional scenes with staff and find myself wanting, it's often because I haven't allowed myself time to deal with the issues myself so my responses are borne more out of my needs, perceptions and immediate emotion than out of that empathy that develops with reflection and thought.

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Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives (Brew, 2001)	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum with the epistemological perspectives
• *Feel free to express their views, invest time in thinking for themselves (BM 140, 142)* • *Exchange and compare perspectives (BM 171)* • *Integrate and apply knowledge (BM 171; B 134)*	• Feel free to express emotional meanings and to invest time in the self's inner processes. Emotions are no longer a source of shame and fear • Connections between core and emotional self extends to the projected self which can then exchange and compare perspectives with others. • Emotional meaning making becomes useful and is applied continuously as an integrated modality of mind	• Both teachers and leaders engage with each other in the free exchange of feelings interpretations and meanings that respects the whole person. • Access to expanded knowledge base from shared emotional meaning enables integrated application of this new knowledge. The need for change becomes evident and can be embraced with less resistance due to shared emotional understanding.	I find the current principal and vice principal to be very supportive. They're very conscious of being equitable in their decision making. And they leave opportunities wide open. And I appreciate that. And they go out of their way to be respectful of your opinion and of your goals. Essentially the person blew their top…and I had to cope with it and I just dealt with it. And I was really disappointed…upset by it…[but] I can understand that people make errors in judgement . I do that a lot myself and I feel that I was fairly treated afterwords. There was a genuine regret there. There was an apology and it was dealt with.	reflection and thought. I hope that I can continue to have staff come to me about their ideas for changing things for the better. I would think even those who appear tough skinned are hurt by the truth … when it appears negative … and even though it hurts we should consider ourselves fortunate if we are privileged to hear the truth. At least we can look at what we have heard and decide if we need to change. This is not a job to do behind a façade, at least not for me. I've given up on the 'headship effect', except with stroppy parents. The reality is that I do not find it impossible to deal with criticism if, in so doing, I am furthering the development of the school or the staff. I would like to think that by facing criticism in this way over the years, the negative, damaging and sometimes personal criticisms have become more constructive and even the most negative do sometimes suggest answers and even volunteer to help.

Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives (Brew, 2001)	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum with the epistemological perspectives
Domain: Role of teacher • *Authorities are no longer viewed as the only source of knowledge (BM 137)* • *Prefer teachers who promote independent thinking and exchange of opinions (BM 139)* • *Promotes application of knowledge in context (BM 171) promotes evaluative discussion of perspectives (BM 171)* • *Experts need to convey humility about their knowledge area (B 139)*	Emotional role of the other • The self's emotional authority becomes one of several sources of meaning • Preferences for independent emotional knowing is extended to others in reciprocal exchange • Minimizing spurious emotionality (Denzin 1984) becomes possible with emotional meaning on the agenda • Emotional knowledge and understanding is not used as a weapon to manipulate or intimidate others. Emotional wisdom as opposed to emotional intelligence suggests more listening and connecting and integrating than analyzing, evaluating and judging.	• Authority for meaning making resides within the self of teachers and leaders who remain connected to each other in shared moral purpose. • Asymmetrical emotional reciprocity (Young, 1999) between teachers and leaders allows contrasting and conflicting perspectives to coexist without undermining the connected culture. Conforming to the culture becomes being oneself. • Emotional awareness engenders sensitivity and trust rather than manipulation as the emotions of the self are offered and vulnerability is shared. This fosters humility and wisdom in caring (Noddings, 1984) • Teachers and leaders become peers in shared emotional understanding,	He made sure that I changed my workshops when I didn't want to ... He challenged me to change my practice. We would argue and yet the respect level continued to improve. It was always on a professional level. I remember one principal.... in his own quiet way, [he] was able to acknowledge what you were doing. There was an all pervasive feeling in that school that he knew what you were about. He did it in very small ways. It could be a smile. It could be a note in your mailbox. It could be a chat over coffee. Somehow he conveyed it. He was very professional. My first administrator was very dynamic ... He was in my class al the time and would tell me whether I was doing a good job or not which was important to me. I find the current principal to be so cooperative and so genuine. No matter what you do, you feel good about it because he's really helpful. I felt proud that she thought highly of me, and that she had faith in me. I also felt a sense of camaraderie that we were together. I never felt that she was my boss and I her worker. I never felt that way.	If a problem appears during a discussion that has not been anticipated, it is put for the agenda of our next staff meeting and then we have time to plan how it will be dealt with and particularly to anticipate how it might be personalized. If this is a concern, we arrange the facilitation so that the issue can be discussed in a way that does not injure or offend but rather moves us all onwards. If a contentious subject is to be discussed, it's best prepared with a clear mechanism for involving everyone in the discussion and taking all comments on board. Smaller groups work better and I notice that those who are inclined to be negative when they hold the floor engage in more positive discourse in smaller groups. I feel if staff members know that they are supported, if they are not put down, if there is genuine interest in what they're doing in their classrooms they can forgive some of the day to day glitches Support is also so important.

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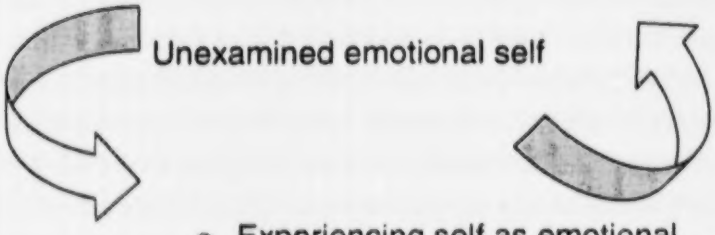
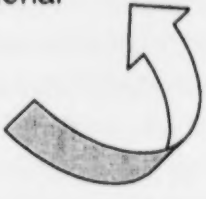
Synopsis of the epistemological perspectives (Brew, 2001)	Synopsis of the emotional epistemological perspectives	Proposed indicators for the emotional epistemological perspectives in the context of leading and teaching	Interview excerpts from teacher interviews that resonate with the emotional epistemological perspectives	Excerpts from online leader discussion forum with the epistemological perspectives
Domain: Role of peers • *All opinions accepted, advocate listening to other's interpretations and espousing their own (BM 147)* • *Peers' knowledge is valued when it is justified (BM 175)* • *A capacity for speaking with and listening to others while simultaneously speaking and listening to the self (B 145)*	Experiencing emotional meaning with peers • All emotional meanings are invited and respected. Sharing one's own emotional meaning becomes a natural part of the interactive process. • All others become emotional peers in connected and cooperative meaning making by virtue of the emotionally connected knowing. • Capacity for speaking about emotional matters and listening to others while simultaneously speaking and listening to the emotional self. Voice of emotional internal dialogue becomes viable and valued.	• Peers become significant contributors to one's emotional understanding • Support for and entitlement to being undecided while integrating fuller understanding. Taking time and making space for the self and others to sort through the layers of emotional meaning • Creating a culture of capacity and safe space for speaking and listening to others about real feelings and convictions. Integration of passion of purpose and belief with proactive professional practice. Broken silences free collective energies for meaningful exchange and deep transformation.	"He stood there for the whole practice and watched. And at the end he said, … "you're absolutely amazing. I can't believe you're doing this – after school and you're spending hours here together. Look how happy they are." … It was a completely spontaneous thing, and it was something I needed at the time too because I thought it wasn't going to come together … and it was just what I needed, and just what the kids needed … … It was extremely positive"	I got the tingles yet again when I read that you had reread my words and found some use/meaning in them. I get an "electric shock" up the back of my neck when I see someone respond to me personally ….yes it is about feeling known. I can't help feeling that this virtual world is more powerful than the real version. Nan is so right. At the beginning I found it difficult to find time; now its' a 'treat' to get on line. The conversations have made me reflect so much more, consider my approaches, applaud my colleagues on-line, wherever they are. Like Nan, I've mentioned this forum, although not its contents, and the majority response has been 'how do you find the time?' Now I know I need to find the time.

The reinforcing spiral 'progression' as loop © B.R. Beatty, 2002

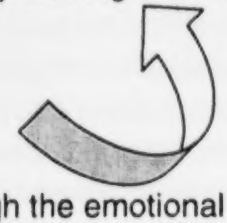


Unexamined emotional self

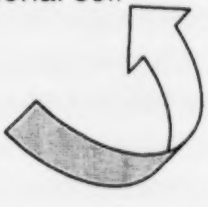
- Experiencing self as emotional



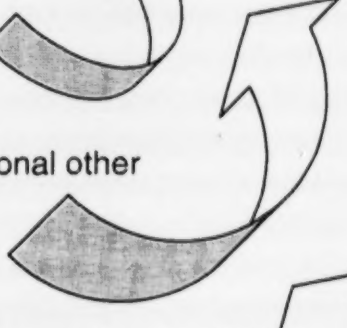
- Restorying (Beattie, 1995) self by sharing of self as emotional



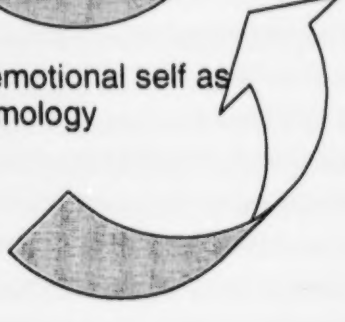
- Connecting with the other through the emotional self



- Reconnecting with the self through the emotional other



- Connecting with the self and other through the emotional self as emotional knower – deepened emotional epistemology



CONCLUSION

The complex emotionally interwoven dynamics of leadership work depicts teachers and leaders in a combination of highs and lows, pleasures and pains, that defines the external terrain and shapes the internal landscape of many educational leaders' and teachers' lives. Powerful cultural imperatives to remain in control, and representative of the whole school at all times had an impact on leaders' personal identities. Lacking the freedom to know and show themselves, in deference to their service to the greater good of their schools, in the process, the loss of accessibility to emotional meaning making – in an internally integrated way - may be dictating an emotional constraint pattern not unlike that of a bonsai tree, shaped and re-formed to suit the strictures of controlling influences beyond themselves. Highly complicit yet largely unconscious of any choice in the matter, leaders and teachers can remain willing victims in their service to the whole.

The notion of silence was adopted and expanded upon in this paper to draw attention to its experience as a defensive or offensive strategy for retaining or regaining power or protection in the relationships between teacher and leaders. Within this perspective, one's own emotional meaning making is perceived to be of no value. The reasons for rules about acceptable and unacceptable projected self remain unconsidered. Authorities external to self hold relevant knowledge about membership, but do not share it. Such crucial knowledge seems to exist only outside the self. Dissonance between projected self and inner self-feelings are experienced as self not knowing or being known and with the likelihood of self-feelings being disapproved of by others. Associated is a lack of awareness and validation of core emotions of self. An unexamined meta-emotional chain reaction of concern about how self is viewed by others creates a cycle of emotional management that involves constant self-surveillance and associated anxiety, fear, anticipated further disconnection and shame which tends to maintain the imperative for silence.

Interaction is often limited self-censored and strictly proscribed. Interactions are often threatening or anxiety inducing to the self as the hidden self remains unknown. This quality of the interaction remains largely unconsidered. The self remains hidden to avoid win lose encounters. The emotional reward is pursuing a goal of feeling safe. Active pursuit of emotional equilibrium is attempted through self-silencing and selective or non-interaction. Procedural rules for successful entry into connection with others remains unclear, seems contradictory or problematic.

The absolute knower is engaged in applying external emotional authorities' feeling rules and living by them. During transitional relativism, experiments with congruence between inner and projected emotional self can lead to moments of revelation that promote further transition. They can also lead to hasty reversion to absolutist safety, due to shaming for breaking the feeling rules. It depends on the degree of support and personal reflection and awareness that accompanies the transitional experience. When emotional meaning making is validated and used in daily discourse and reflection it becomes self-sustaining and foundational to relativist perspectives. The subjectivities of the self, once affirmed and valued create a deepened emotional epistemological perspective that supports with curiosity and care, the multiple emotional realities and associated variety of perspectives of others. Evidence of this transformation effect appeared in the online experience with the leaders. Signs of its potential power were clear from teacher stories too.

Thus the progression back and forth from silence to absolutism to transition and resilient connected knowing can occur over and over, as different emotional experiences are encountered. The process is fluid and dynamic, with powerful potential for educational change.

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